

ANECDOTES

OF

J U N I U S K

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE KING'S REPLY.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY P. BYRNE, No. 108, CRAFTON-STREET,

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

RECORDED

OF

U. N. I. U. S.

TO BE PRINTED

THE KING'S REPLY.

DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY J. J. GILBERT, No. 10, GRAFTON STREET.

1844.

G Francis

IN the best editions of JUNIUS's LETTERS, the King's Answer has hitherto been unnoticed.——The following reply is supposed to have been written by a Nobleman, once high in office, but now, "A MONUMENT OF DEPARTED GREATNESS."

To which are added some interesting Anecdotes of JUNIUS;—collected in the year 1771.

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The KING in REPLY, &c.

DECEMBER 25th, 1769.

To JUNIUS.

F ACTION may be resembled to bodies
• in their descent, their motion is increased in
• proportion to the space they fall through.
• No great degree of sagacity was requisite to
• foretell that a writer who had malevolently
• attacked the greatest Officers of the State,
• would at last lay his hand upon the Throne,
• and shake even the Monarch ; who wished
• he would not forfeit every title to Clemency.
• An animating stile is far from investigating a
• Subject

' Subject with a right to raise himself upon a
 ' level with his sovereign, and to arraign his
 ' conduct in terms that shew a total disregard
 ' to decency and to allegiance. But supposing
 ' such an outrage could at any time exist; sup-
 ' posing the Sovereign should lay aside the scep-
 ' tre and descend to the character of a Fellow-
 ' Subject; he might express himself in terms
 ' of this kind, which, though abstracted from
 ' the forms of royalty, might still convey his
 ' ideas in expressions drawn from his real cha-
 ' racter, and breathe all the benevolence of
 ' one who is paternally affected for the welfare
 ' of his Subjects.'

I AM not surprised at the attack lately re-
 ceived from the pen of JUNIUS.—His pen
 spares no characters.—Impunity, instead of fur-
 nishing him with suspicion, has hardened him
 in effrontery. But calumny and sedition is
 the characteristic of the age: he may have
 been willingly carried down the stream, because
 it will land on the shore of Popularity. To
 abuse extraordinary talents is the highest ingra-
 titude that can be committed against their do-
 nor.

nor. It favours much of the conduct of the first rebel in the creation, who was both a being of the highest order of intelligent creatures, and was likewise a devil.

HAD JUNIUS urged any thing worthy of notice, unless it be for its malignity, he would have been indulged all the freedom of a Patriot, and I would have laid aside the King to become a Disciple. A long letter, which has a tendency to disturb the tranquillity of my reign, is stretched out to its enormous length by trite maxims ; and every artifice is employed to alienate the affections of my subjects. The charms of novelty are neglected to introduce the poison of malignity, and I am to be exposed to my people, for being in the same circumstances as other Kings have been in before me.

It has been frequently observed by the votaries of the people, that the voice of Truth seldom reaches the ears of a King. This may too often be the case with weak and arbitrary Princes ; but will my greatest enemy, will even

JUNIUS

JONIOUS dare to stigmatize me with being arbitrary or despotic? Has there never been a popular Minister in this Kingdom? What is the general character of BURLEIGH and WALSHINGHAM? They certainly conveyed the dictates of truth to the ears of royalty, and are sufficient to explode the maxim of the people.—A patriotic Prince may find it as difficult to be addressed with the falsehood of adulation, as a despotic one with the oracles of truth.

THE language of complaint is not always the language of truth. Grievances may not be real. Faction will create causes of complaint, if she cannot find them already existing, and popular discontents, when traced to their source, may rather be the murmurs of a few disaffected, than the real sighs of an injured nation. The histories of all nations abound with instances in proof of this assertion: pity it is that will not prevent future ages from committing similar mistakes!

THE people are too soon seduced to join in the cry against their superiors, and their
passions

passions are too often captivated by those who are unable to convince their understanding.

But I am to be precluded every topic which I could urge in my defence : my conduct is asserted to be wrong from principle, and the *lessons I have learned* from my youth are stigmatized as pernicious. Yet still I am said to be *naturally benevolent* : but how that could be after my habits were become pernicious by education, is a problem of which few will undertake the solution.

It is much in my favour that my nature was originally good, as it has rescued me from an inconvenience that is a species of treason ; for unless it had been so, I am told by one of my subjects, that they would long since have adopted a stile of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint. What this stile is, let the nation judge—nay, let JUNIUS explain.—The menace is little better than the menace of sedition.—If we should trace the thunderbolt

to the hand from whence it was cast, it would be found to have proceeded from the hand of BRIAREUS, who was engaged in an attack to dethrone JUPITER.

THE general maxim that *the King can do no wrong*, which was intended to secure majesty against the poisoned shafts of malecontents, is wrested to inflict wounds in my government ; and too often in the natural world, those gifts which were designed by nature to support life, are converted into means of destroying it.—

The latter may be ascribed to perversity of judgment, the former to perversity of will.

I ASCENDED the throne with a sincere and determined resolution to give universal satisfaction to my subjects ; I looked on myself as accountable to the KING OF KINGS, in the discharge of my duty : and when I considered that my will, and pleasure and happiness, depended on following the dictates of my conscience, I thought myself well secured from doing amiss. The general acclamation and joy
of

of the nation on my accession, made me promise myself that my throne would be placed in the hearts of my subjects ; and when I considered the thorns which twine themselves round the diadem, I imagined the people would be more ready to invite me to assume the sceptre, than I really was to accept it.

THE brightest sunshine is too often intercepted by a cloud. I find, too soon, that earthly glory, like light in its progress, is liable to fits and intermissions. The very means I took to secure general affection, were urged against me, to deprive me of so inestimable an acquisition. Declared the King of several nations, I looked upon the natives of each kingdom as my subjects. I thought they ought equally to participate of my affections. Impartiality demanded this ; and I know that partiality is in a Monarch a species of injustice.

THE comprehensive term of being KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, whispered to me that all the subjects in Great Britain were equally allied to

me as their sovereign. The Tweed did not bound my dominions: those that were born north of that river were as much my subjects as those that were born nearer the place of my residence. My affection spread itself like the light of the sun, into every corner of my dominions; and I knew no other restraint, no other attraction to my favors but desert. The North as well as the South Briton partook equally of the warmth of my bounty. I was King of both, and was bound to treat them both as my subjects. None but a person of a narrow mind, could blame me for making my benevolence general. He that would blame me for this, must blame the sun for shining upon other nations as well as his own. I know indeed that some malecontents thought me partial, because all my favors were not confined to those that were born on the south of the Tweed; and they stigmatized my generosity with the invidious term of predilection. I looked upon myself as a common Father to all my subjects, wherever disseminated;—surely it is not a crime in a father to let all his children have a share in his heart! So far

far was I from being biaſſed by any error imbibed in my education, that I diveſted myſelf of the natural predilection which every one has to the peculiar ſpot in which he was born, and I looked upon myſelf in the ſame light as the ancient ſage; I looked upon myſelf not as a citizen of the world, but as if born in every diſtrict of my dominion, and bound to careſs them all with equal portions of affection.

THE alteration made in the ſyſtem of government, was the effect of deliberation; it does not become me to add, of wiſdom likewiſe.— I do not think myſelf obliged to reveal the ſecrets of government to vindicate myſelf from the aſperſions of every one who blames my conduct. A condeſcenſion of this kind would unhinge every part of ſtate machinery, extirpate the very idea of ſubordination, and erect anarchy upon the ruins of order and government. It was neceſſary to change what would not be controlled, and deſpotiſm in a miniſter was eſteemed no leſs intolerable than in a prince. It can be no crime in a ſovereign to
rule;

rule ; it would be a weakness in him to suffer himself to be ruled by a servant.

I AM blamed for discarding a minister, who was at that time very popular ; but sure I cannot be blamed for that step now, for even the people have divested him of the feathers with which they had dressed him, and have more than once pronounced him unworthy of popularity.

IF my conduct may admit a vindication in these points, it is not less vindicable with respect to Mr. WILKES the *god of the people's idolatry*. The outrages he committed against my person, the aspersions which he cast upon my dearest relations, were long suffered with contempt, with impunity, if not with pity. As the highest stretch of law may become injustice in the opinion of the Roman Moralist, so when clemency is carried too far, it becomes criminal. I never thought, that when I put on my crown, I ceased to be a man ; or that at the time when I accepted of the sceptre, I ceased to be a son. If filial duty reigned still in my heart,

heart, religion will pardon me the commission of that crime ; if filial duty reigned still in my heart, let the son judge, for the son only can judge the agonies which I felt at the aspersions which were cast upon her to whom I owe my birth.—To defend her could be no crime ; to punish her calumniator, was to obey the call of Justice. But even in this point, I suffered royalty to stifle the agonies of the man, and bearing a public character, I would not suffer myself to be roused, by less than a public injury.

THE laws showed resentment to be founded upon justice ; the delinquent is now suffering no punishment from personal pique, but the punishment he has called down upon his own head, by infringing those sanctions which are the bulwarks of civil life, and the only props of government. Even in the midst of punishment, I listened to the voice of mercy, and the lenity of my government shone forth, even in the pains which were inflicted upon the delinquent. In this case, the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights were adhered to, with
unexam-

unexampled scrupulosity. The satisfaction awarded, was rather the satisfaction of a private person than that of a monarch ; it satisfied me ; for *homo sum*, &c. is as much my favourite maxim, as that of the most compassionate individual. The *rays of royal clemency were collected upon WILKES*, in greater quantities than those of indignation ; and it was my intention to illuminate and instruct, not to consume.

It is no surprising thing, that he should be aggrandized by his punishments. The lower order of mankind fix their attention more upon the sufferings than the crime ; and when their hearts are melted into compassion, they in a manner forget that the sufferer is a criminal. It is not my intention to destroy, but to save. When the delinquent is worthy of favour, my arms are open to receive him : and, if I understand the workings of my own heart, I would rather die to save the meanest individual, than force an individual to die, to save me.

FACTION

FACTION will always sow her seeds, in the best governments ; why not in mine as well as another's ? It is her peculiar province to distort the truth which she cannot annihilate : and an erroneous sight is sometimes more pernicious than total blindness. Through her glass, the most minute object appears very considerable ; why then should we wonder at the aggrandizement of Mr. WILKES, when it is known he appears so, only through the microscope of faction ?

THE expulsion of Mr. WILKES, and the election of COL. LUTTRELL, afford a wide field for censure to expatiate in. Like other controverted points they may be agitated a long time, and may never be brought to a decision. The lawyers have argued the case *pro* and *con* ; each side is sanguine ; each thinks himself in the right. But how are we to know on which side the truth lies, when each opposite party avers that it lies on his ? The only judge of these controversies the HOUSE OF COMMONS have indeed decided the case. Shall I snatch the balance out of their hands ? Shall I shew myself arbi-

trary because I am accused, falsely accused of being so? Shall I overturn the power of parliament, one of the pillars of the constitution, and take a step that would give despotism all the advantages it desires over freedom? No! I was raised to govern a free people. I would scorn to be king over a nation of slaves. The greatest glory of an earthly king is to resemble the KING OF KINGS; and his service is perfect freedom. It is a remarkable circumstance in my favour, that the same persons that censure my conduct, fix the brand of calumny upon the great senate of the kingdom. In days of despotism, the monarch and the parliament were always at variance; and it is an infallible symptom of civil liberty and constitutional rectitude, that all the three branches of the constitution should be unanimous. Shall I cut down the prop which supports my palace? The voice of faction may demand it, but the voice of freedom irresistibly forces me to leave the national council without control. It shall be free; I would sooner be enslaved myself, than promote the triumphs of slavery. The affections of my subjects cannot be purchased too dearly.

I live

I live only to promote their welfare. While I regulate my conduct upon the principles of reason, I am secure of the love of all the lovers of their country. My interest is inseparable from theirs, and while they have any regard for themselves, they cannot but have as great a one for me. The calm and dispassionate, the rational subject has already assured me of his loyalty; I can have no other enemy but the foe to his country, and the enemy of order. I can never be hated or despised while I pursue the paths of honour and justice. Nor shall my conduct be perverted by the clamours of malecontents.—*Non civium ardor prava jubentium*, is a maxim that describes and ennobles the duty of royalty. Inconsistency only can give birth to contempt. Malevolence is only the parent of hatred. As I shall avoid both the progenitors, I am under no apprehension from their offspring. Ask me not upon what part of my subjects I would rely for assistance! I claim the assistance of all. I claim it upon the natural right of a parent; and the son may as soon draw his sword upon his father, as any of my subjects may upon me.

IRELAND knows I have merited her esteem; though the daughter, she is not less caressed than the mother. America may be considered in the same light. Neither of them would murmur from what they feel, but from what they have been taught. The complaints of either are not the complaints of distress, but the mere echoes of seditious demagogues. It is true, they may make a noise; but the voice, if articulate, is not suggested by a heart, which hath felt a real pang. Not doubtful of finding many an unperturbed subject in either of those regions, I am still less doubtful of my northern subjects. If royal favours can secure fidelity, I may assure myself of their's. When their conduct is altered from what it has been, they have a claim not only for forgiveness, but likewise for reward. And having already tasted the sweets of allegiance, they can have no cause for not being faithful.

THE army is neither my last nor my best resource. The Guards deserve my protection, and being nearest my person cannot but claim my

my attention. The other regiments may wish to be guards, and if the guards were to be substituted in their place, they would wish to be guards again. This is an honour which only one part of the military can enjoy, and to grieve or to grow sullen on that account, would be to realize the fable of the contest between the belly and its members. The *marching regiments have a strong sense of the great original duty they owe their country*; I have no cause to doubt their fidelity. To doubt would be to deserve.—Every department of the army has had all the rewards they purchased by their merits. Their eminent services have raised them to eminent posts. Nor can there ever exist the same contests here as among the Romans; the prætorian bands and the distant legions will never be at variance, and if they should be, it will never be in the power of the distant legions, nor even of the prætorian bands to give away the empire of Great Britain.

WHICH way soever I look, I see no cause for perplexity or distress. I have deserved the
affection

affection of my subjects and will rely upon them. Our happiness is interwoven, is incorporated. God has joined them together—let no mortal therefore dare to put them asunder. To exert prerogative to its full extent, would be to procure a divorce. To exert it in a case in which *I have no immediate concern*, would be to forfeit more than life; it would be to forfeit the confidence of future parliaments, and even the confidence of all my subjects in general. It is both *my interest and my duty to prevent the three estates from encroaching upon the province of each other*. With what face then can I begin the encroachment, or depart from the constitutional line, which terminates the sphere of my prerogative?

THE liberties taken with the present House of Commons deserve no countenance, as they have no foundation. General censure is no censure at all; it is a tribute which commonly attends desert, and it is the indication of merit likewise. All parliaments have been blamed more or less, and till there be a possibility of meeting with one that shall please all parties,

ties, it would be in vain to struggle for it.—
The very impossibility is a stronger proof of
the flourishing state of freedom. Only in a state
of slavery, all subjects are of one opinion.

I should be poor indeed, *if the fortune which made me a king forbade me to have a friend.* Every one of my subjects is my friend, and I am and will be his. *They who are convinced that the establishment of the family of Hanover was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties* were my friends,—and must still be so. I desire no other throne but the hearts of my people ; and while I secure that, I shall fear no revolution, from a conviction that the same principles which brought my ancestors to the Crown, will always be powerful enough to keep it in my family.



A N E C D O T E S

O F

F U N I U S:

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN IN THE YEAR

MDCCLXXI.

A. N. E. D. O. T. E. S.



3 U. N. I. V. S.

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN IN THE YEAR

MDCCLXXI

A N E C D O T E S.

OF all the political writers that have distinguished themselves since the accession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain, the author of JUNIUS'S LETTERS is undoubtedly one of the most eminent. Others have espoused as noble a cause, and with equal zeal, but few or none equal abilities. We have living instances of popular orators, who rave by the hour, in the senate, for "Rome and for their country," whose talents, as writers, are nevertheless inadequate to the penning a common epistle of business

or compliment with literary elegance, or even grammatical propriety. Eloquent therefore, as some of them may be accounted for their manner of delivery, the matter of their argument must ever be held in suspicion; unless we conceive that modern authors, like French prophets and fanatical teachers, know by intuition, and speak by inspiration; or that men may think more coolly, reason more justly, and express themselves more pertinently, amidst the interrupting sneers, winks, nods, and noise of a numerous assembly, than when alone and undisturbed in their own closet.

AMONG such indifferent speakers, and still more indifferent writers, many of them notwithstanding of the first rank and distinction by birth or fortune, it is no wonder that a man of superior talents and aspiring disposition should make his way into the senate, where such a dearth of abilities so pressingly invited him. It is a little also to be wondered at, that he should be called forward, by the patronage of those who stood in need of his service, and were judges of his merit,

merit, to the display of those literary and rhetorical powers for which he is so justly celebrated.

THUS, by the favour of the discerning GREAT, JUNIUS saw himself early in life, raised to a situation, for which, though by nature and education peculiarly qualified, he was not by family or fortune so favourably entitled. JUNIUS, however, is of a good family of a neighbouring kingdom, whose greatest abasement, like that of many others of the same nation, is that of having been more prolific than rich.

HAVING finished his academical studies, he entered the world therefore like a soldier of fortune; with this difference, that while others of his brave countrymen wielded the sword, or brandished the spontoon, in the service of their country abroad, JUNIUS employed a more formidable weapon, his pen, in the same cause at home. This he has continued to do on almost every important occasion, so effectually, that if his success hath done honour to his patrons in their choice of such a champion, the side he hath taken on every interesting

interesting question has reflected no less honour on the rectitude of his understanding, than it hath recommended that of his heart ; at least to those who have still charity enough to believe, that amidst a multitude of apostate patriots, there may be yet one faithful **ABDIEL** to be found.

FROM the greatest abilities, engaged in the best of causes, it is natural to expect an end proportional to the means ; and that every point must be carried that was once authorized by reason, and enforced by rhetoric. But in a country governed by parties, the best of causes stands equally in need of the best support with the worst, and even with all the advantages on its side is often given up against reason, and abandoned without regret.

IT is not our design to write a panegyric on the author of the following letters ; the reception they have already met with in the world, hath anticipated that design, and rendered a more formal execution of it unnecessary. To this general sketch of the bright side of the picture,

picture, we shall therefore proceed to point out some of those particular and distinguishing touches of character ; which, if they do not serve to soften the colouring, and heighten the beauty of the portrait, will tend at least to give it a more striking likeness, and afford a true and natural resemblance of the original.

WE shall do this also without fear of giving offence to the author ; as no man of his sense and experience would wish to be flatteringly and fallaciously represented as one of those " faultless monsters which the world ne'er saw." It is with the author as with his works ;

" Whoever thinks a perfect piece to see,

" Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be."

WERE we disposed, in imitation of PLUTARCH, to draw a parallel, the writer, whose talents those of JUNIUS seem most to resemble, is the late LORD BOLINGBROKE. It was probably this congeniality of mental abilities, rather than any error in judgment, that led our
author

author in one of the earliest pieces with which he obliged the world, to copy the stile and sentiments of that noble writer so exactly, that the performance passed, for some time, even with the critics and connoisseurs as a posthumous production of his Lordship.

THIS piece, as entitled, "A Vindication of Natural Society; or a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to mankind from every Species of artificial society*." If the title of this tract carried with it the air of irony, its contents were perfectly conformable; experience, however, on this, as on many other occasions, serves sadly to confirm the veracity of that trite though pertinent proverb, that "Truth is often spoken in jest."

THIS little performance may be regarded as a *certamen ingenii*, a kind of exercise of his

* Written in the character of the noble writer above mentioned, and in the form of a letter to LORD—It was first printed in the year 1756, and is to be found in Doddsley's collection of fugitive pieces.

+ By Edmund Burke.

literary

literary and logical abilities ; and affords no mean proof of the proficiency he had made in the rhetorical and dialectic arts.

OF the same kind are those little critiques on political publications, with which our author, about that time, occasionally favoured those well-known farragoes of literary and political criticism, the Reviews : those very heterogeneous works, that during a course of upwards of twenty years, have worn a very different face at different times, and have been very unequally executed by different authors, gentle and simple, whigs and tories, learned and unlearned, sceptical and credulous ; composing the most motley groupe of writers that ever at once informed and infested society.

HAD JUNIUS the vanity of a certain rival politician, now seated at the Board of Treasury, he would probably wish to have it forgotten that he ever acted the part of an obscure and anonymous reviewer ; but when he reflects that they were both labourers in the same vineyard with

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men, who, like themselves, have since risen to consideration and eminence, both in church and state, he must reflect also, with some complacency, on the means by which they whetted their wits to qualify them for the posts and offices they so well do, or so ardently wish to sustain *.

THE reputation our author acquired by his ironical vindication of natural society, received a considerable addition by his celebrated treatise on " The Origin of our Ideas

* The reader will possibly be not a little diverted at the diversity of the following specimen of a list of successive reviewers.

CHURCHMEN	{	ARCHBISHOP SECKER,
		BISHOPS {
		WARBURTON,
LAWYERS	{	LOWTH,
		DIGNITARIES {
		DR. KING,
		MASTER of the TEMPLE.
PEACEMEN,	{	JUDGE BLACKSTONE
		BARRISTERS {
		OWEN RUFFHEAD,
PENSIONERS,	{	ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.
		CHARLES JENKINSON, ESQ. a Lord of
		the Treasury.
and	{	EDMUND BURKE, ESQ. M. P.
		DAVID HUME, ESQ. P. P.
		ATHENIAN STUART, Serjeant Painter.
POLITICIANS.	{	RALPH,
		GUTHRIE,
		SAM. JOHNSON,
		DR. HILL,
		CAMPBELL,
		SMOLLETT,
		SHEBBEARE,
		SHERIDAN, &c.

of the Sublime and Beautiful:" a work that made its first appearance with great eclat, and obtained the writer the distinguishing appellation of the English Longinus. There is most undoubtedly great merit in this performance; in which the author's ingenuity is, however, more conspicuous than either the extent of his knowledge, or the profundity of his judgment. The affectation of treating subjects philosophically, whose philosophical principles he should have first discovered, hath induced him frequently to amuse us with the shadow of an argument instead of its substance. Hence he bewilders his readers in the search after the origin of abstract and abstruse ideas,

POETS and PHILOSOPHERS.	{	CAPTAINS, DOCTORS, and PLAIN 'SQUIRES.	{	BERKENHOUT, CLELAND, BICKERSTAFF, GOLDSMITH, ROSE, KENRICK, LLOYD, LANGHORNE, KELLY, SHAW, HIFFERNAN.
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To which may be added, the celebrated JOHN WILKES, PETER ANNET, and a long list of nameless pedagogues, parsons, poetasters, publishers, printers, press-men, and printer's devils.

by directing them to consult their imagination rather than their perceptions:—their conceptions, which are ever misleading, instead of their sensations; which, while they are trusted no farther than they reach, cannot deceive. Had he made LORD BACON his philosophical guide, instead of imitating LORD BOLINGBROKE, he would have considered that, like many other modern sophists, he began at the wrong end of investigation, by running rashly into the maze of metaphysical speculation, without taking with him the clue of physical experiment. Even Locke might have taught him what he did not practise himself, to distinguish between complex notions and simple ideas, and to admit only those of the latter, which are evidently deducible from sense.

THE similarity of genius, already observed, which our author possessed, to that of the noble author last mentioned, is, in this tract, peculiarly conspicuous. Splendid in his diction, and specious in his argument, he commanded the attention, and captivated the fancy of the reader;

Who
 not at all in the manner of the

der ; but, more florid than perspicuous, more superficial than solid, however the flowers of his rhetoric might dazzle and persuade, the force of his reasoning was ineffectual either to instruct or convince. In soaring up to the sublime, he soared out of sight, and with the eccentricity of a comet rushed from a blaze of light into darkness and obscurity. In pursuit of the beautiful he carried his refinement to such a degree of delicacy, that it lost its essential quality of pleasing. The form of beauty is no longer amiable than it is palpable to sense.

Or JUNIUS, therefore, considered in the capacity of a philosopher, it may be said as of his favorite BOLINGBROKE, in the words of a late writer, that " by having endeavoured at too much, he has done nothing ; though, as a political writer, few can equal, and none exceed him." His *forte* does not lie in developing the philosophical secrets of nature, and disclosing the mysterious operations of the human mind ; but in discovering the political secrets

crets of society, and in exposing the iniquitous machinations of government.

AND here the comparison between BOLINGBROKE and JUNIUS ends: the great abilities of the former having been exerted to introduce the tyranny of arbitrary power, and to enslave his country; while to the latter, common gratitude induces us to look up, as to a friend and benefactor both of his country and of mankind.

It has been objected, indeed, and that with some appearance of reason, against the disinterestedness and integrity of his character, that he has made the public station ever subservient to his private interest; and that he has not only been actuated in his political writings more by a spirit of party than of patriotism, but that private pique hath often aggravated his censure, as personal attachment has animated his applause.

IN answer to this objection, it may be observed, that, to possess the zeal and disinterestedness

ness of a patriot without the passions of a man, is impossible ; and were it possible, is by no means desirable. The cosmopolite, who affects a friendship for all mankind in general, is seldom a friend to any particular individual. He who has a kindness for *every* body, must have a large stock of benevolence indeed to have much kindness for *any* body. General goodwill must flow from a particular source ; and, as the stream must be proportional to the fountain whence it springs, the more extensive its surface, the more shallow will be its depth.— In order that a man may be a friend to others, it behoves him to be a constant friend to himself. If JUNIUS, when in office, had not profited by the accustomed and legal perquisites of his post, he would have been imprudently his own enemy. That a man should make his station also, in all other reputable respects subservient to his interest, who was not born to an affluent fortune, is certainly excusable in an age and country, which countenance the first fortunes in the kingdom, in the shameful practices of place-hunting, stock-jobbing, match-making, and even match-marring, for
the

the sake of gratifying the pitiful passions of avarice and petty ambition in the saving or accumulation of a few thousands, to add profusion to a plentiful patrimony. It is a strong presumption, however, that he cannot be much a knave who is known to be considerably duped: and that JUNIUS is so little an adept in the tricks of the alley, as to have run great risques of being stigmatised, in its cant phrase, for a lame duck is notorious.

— BUT our author, it is said, hath not only constantly opposed administration, when his patrons and himself were out of place; but has affected to despise, and has really neglected his fellow-patriots engaged in the same cause; and hath even espoused the cause and defended the persons of its enemies.

WE shall not take upon us very warmly to commend his replies to the several pamphlets and papers written in support of the ministers preceding and succeeding the Rockingham ad-

minis-
match-making and even match-making for the

ministration*. These were undoubtedly dictated in some measure by the spirit of party, and were confessedly more immediately calculated for the service of his patrons than for that of the nation. It is some extenuation, however, if not a total exculpation of the criminality of those productions, if our author really thought, as no doubt he professes to do, that the interest of his patrons, and that of his country, are inseparably connected. Be this as it may, the like objection cannot be made to the letters contained in the present publication; which most opportunely made their first appearance at a time, when the most direct and violent attacks were made and making on the liberties and constitution of our country.

At such a juncture, to stand forth their professed champion, was worthy the fortitude and abilities of JUNIUS. That he has apparently

* Among which the replies to the *Budget*, and the *Considerations on the present State of the Nation*, with others of less note, are imputed to our author.

neglected, and even affected publicly to condemn the man, in whose person those flagrant and flagitious attempts were made, is certain. But, whether he looked on him with an envious eye, as a more favoured rival in the popular esteem, or was causelessly jealous of his reputation for literary talents, as a political writer, or from what other motive this seeming neglect was occasioned, is of little consequence to the public. It is of much more, that such neglect was in too great a degree real. It is true indeed, that for some time our author was a private advocate for WILKES and LIBERTY* but it is no less true, that he soon after conceived

* Among other instances that might be given is the following:—Mr. Trecothick, the late Lord Mayor, it is well known, owed his election, as representative in parliament for the city, greatly to the good offices of Mr. WILKES; who requested his friends, at the latter end of the poll, when single votes could not possibly be of service to him, to poll also for Mr. TRECO-THICK, instead of SIR RICHARD GLYNN, to whom they were mostly inclined. This request had its effect, and Mr. TRECO-THICK accordingly got a-head of SIR RICHARD.—This manœuvre was the consequence of a previous intimation, if not assurance of JUNIUS to Mr. WILKES, that he, with
the

ceived the words ill-paired, joined not matched, and determined therefore in his own mind to part them. In consequence of this determination, he appears ever since to have carefully distinguished on all occasions between the cause of Mr. WILKES and that of the public ; or, rather as some will have it, between the personal interest of Mr. WILKES, a common friend, and that of LORD ROCKINGHAM, his particular friend and patron.

IN making this distinction, fatal alas ! in its consequences, it is observable that he either set or followed the example of another great rival in popularity, LORD CHATHAM ; who seemed as cautious of being hooked into any connection with WILKES, as if that unfortunate patriot were contagiously infected with a political pestilence.

the other friends of TRECOTHICK would *totis viribus* support Mr. WILKES on any other occasion. The then-more-popular-patriot, however has been known, under the chagrin of disappointment, to exclaim more than once since, " Out upon such half-faced fellowship." Whether JUNIUS or TRECOTHICK has given him most reason for such exclamation, perhaps Mr. SAMUEL VAUGHAN can determine.

UNHAPPILY for this country, the diffidence, distrust, and division which thus arose between the parties so greatly interested in, and desirous of promoting the same common cause, have not only prevented their private success, but hath at the same time occasioned the cause of the public to miscarry.

By the thunder of CHATHAM's elocution within doors, the spirit and adroitness of WILKES's addresses without, and the still more powerful and persuasive rhetoric of JUNIUS's letters and harangues both without and within, what might not have been done?—What might not the united talents of such a triumvirate have effected?—What people so dastardly or depressed as not to be aroused by such a pathetic representation of their grievances?—What people so tame as not to be fired with indignation against their oppressors, and animated to avenge their wrongs?—What favorite so deservedly detested, what ministry so deservedly despised, what parliament so dreadfully degenerated and daringly defied, could have stood

stood their ground against the ductility of a passive prince so earnestly entreated, and the clamours of a remonstrating nation so artfully irritated, and so furiously incensed?

UNHAPPY, we say again, is it for this kingdom and its colonies, that the demon of discord had thus sown the seeds of dissention, that grew up into a division of the three persons, apparently intended by Providence to meet at the same period, to snatch a great nation from long impending ruin. But, alas! the hour is elapsed, the day of grace is passed! Private pique, distrust and animosity have proved fatal to the public good. The British Empire is devoted to destruction; because its ablest friends could not join in having the honor of contributing to its safety, or in sharing the spoils of those who fought that destruction.

THE political wizard, who prophesied we should in a month be no longer a nation, knew, like other politic conjurers, well what he said.

He

He knew that he had been lately for months, as he had been for years before, co-operating to the effectual completion of his prophecy.— A free nation must ever be free. When it loses its freedom, it is no longer a nation.— The constitution may survive long debilitated, but when it is once broken, the body politic, and the body natural, meet approaching dissolution, descend to the grave together, and the day of their resurrection is afar off. From the virility of a favorite, the debility of administration, and the servility of a parliament, British liberty hath received its death's wound. It expires under the hands of the ablest surgeons, merely because they cannot agree about the punctilios of their profession. Even JUNIUS—even to you JUNIUS might we safely appeal. Tell us, if you do not think the united efforts of the patriotic triumvirate above mentioned; if the co-operating talents of the head, hand, and heart of JUNIUS, WILKES, and CHATHAM, might not have saved, what each separately wished to have saved, and what, though those very efforts were now united,

ed, is probably past redemption. Yes, JUNIUS, England is destined to a state of slavery, perhaps for ages, unless some political empiric, daring and unprincipled as CROMWELL, should administer a remedy as bad as the disease, and relieve her awhile from one species of tyranny to subject her to another. Her chains were forged by her most inveterate, though intestine enemies: But when they were brittle, and might easily have been broken, her discordant friends, instead of boldly bursting them asunder, timidly suffered them to anneal, and acquire a durable, a dreadful temper.

BUT if not indebted even to JUNIUS for its preservation, the nation owes to him at least a true sense of its lost, forlorn condition. It is to his unequalled penetration and unparalleled intrepidity it owes the detection and exposure of numerous errors in theory, and wilful mistakes in practice, that have of late years disgraced both the legislature and executive part of government. The court, the camp, the
bar,

bar, the heads of the council, the army and the law, has he boldly brought to that bar, to which they all are, and ought to be amenable, the bar of the public. It is to JUNIUS the nation principally owe the unwelcome, though certain and necessary knowledge, that the so much admired, and once truly admirable, constitution of England is rotten to the core. It is to JUNIUS we owe the certain information that tyranny and arbitrary power have seated themselves, and would preside in every court, whether of legislature or judicature, in the kingdom. How much more should we have owed him, had he thought himself less indebted to his patrons than his country, or could have seen their interest in different or separate lights. But if ingratitude be the worst of crimes, how criminal were it in the public to impute gratitude as a crime to JUNIUS; however unfortunate it may be, that pride and partiality, the common failings of humanity, have prevented his being sufficiently virtuous*.

AN

* Especially if, what is asserted on good authority be true, that JUNIUS has neglected repeated intimations, and refused repeated repeated

AN exceptionable passage in the conduct of JUNIUS is doubtless the panegyric he lavished before a great assembly, on the flagitious author of an infamous pamphlet, entitled the "False Alarm;" a pedantic pedagogue, who *St. Johnston* after having spent half a century of his life in cultivating a rooted antipathy to the family on the throne, and the most rancorous abuse of the Hanover succession, had accepted of that gratuitous emolument from the crown which he had constantly stigmatised as the wages of iniquity; and, in his old age, most servilely prostituted his pen for that wretched hire he had so long and so loudly condemned. And yet, because this formal pedant could expatiate on trifles, swell insignificance by amplification, give verbosity to sense and pomposity to sound, he was defended by JUNIUS as a paragon of integrity: as if men of letters were privileged

repeated overtures, of the most advantageous offers, made him under the sanction of the greatest personage in this kingdom, on condition of his abandoning the patrons, to whom he has so long and so faithfully adhered.

to betray their country, and the superior knowledge of what is right entitles men to do wrong.

ANOTHER passage still more exceptionable, is the publication of his pamphlet entitled—
 “ Considerations on the Causes of the present
 “ Discontents:” in which it is objected against him by some, that he has fairly thrown off the mask of the patriot, and exposed the bare face of the partisan.

To this we cannot altogether subscribe, tho’ certain it is that the difference of sentiment, with regard to immaterial circumstances, affected by our popular patriots, like the hair-breadth distinctions of polemical divines, have rather served to perplex the general cause of debate, and puzzle the disputants, than to clear up or enforce the main point of dispute.—Thus, this spirited and elaborate discussion of national grievances, by its author’s dissenting in particulars from the mode of relief proposed by others, produced a futile altercation ;

a war

a war of words with a woman, more profuse in their utterance than accurate in their use. But she was popular—She was distinguishedly called the Female Historian ; and as such had been long since spoken of with recommendatory respect in a great assembly by the pompous patriotic peer we have so often mentioned ; a lord, just as capable a critic, as the lady is an author. The EARL of CHATHAM however has declared, and that in a manner which no gentleman will contradict, that Mrs. MACAULEY is a most excellent writer ; and who, that knows how well his lordship writes himself, will dare to doubt it, except those who affect to lament, that of the two most favourite histories of this country, the one was penned by a man who was a perfect stranger to the idiom of the English tongue, and the other by a woman equally so to the grammar of any language whatever ? But the male is a Scotch Philosopher, and the female an English patriot ; circumstances which, with their respective parties, cover, like charity, a multitude of sins, whether against loyalty, grammar or common sense.

As to the extreme severity with which JUNIUS has occasionally treated some respectable characters, it is to be considered, that in regard to the circumstances for which they are censured, they are far from being respectable ; and that their allowed merit or accustomed distinction, in other respects, required for the sake of example, a more than ordinary severity of chastisement. The cause of truth, of justice, of his country, demanded the castigation of such superior delinquents, from the hand of him only who was so well qualified to inflict it.

As a mitigation however, of this severity, and an exculpation of JUNIUS from the rancour of so much personal resentment, it is to be farther observed, that though the stile and sentiment of the letters in question may be imputed to one writer, the materials of information with which they abound, were furnished by different hands.

JUNIUS is in this view a junto : of which
Nos numerus sumus, might indeed with propriety

ety be the motto of some ; but others had not only their suggestions and instructions to offer, but also their piques and disappointments to revenge. If JUNIUS was sometimes influenced by these, he is the more excusable ; as, however severe his reprehensions, they appear to have ever been founded on justice and truth.

THIS association, under a single name, appeared to have been of some consequence to the personal safety of this writer ; who, as he could not take upon him to be the author of all the anecdotes communicated to him, and at the same time was not authorized to disclose the informant, could not be expected to justify in his own person, every thing for which he might be called to account. The communicating parties therefore bound themselves, it seems, reciprocally to support each other : a circumstance of which the real JUNIUS was wise enough to profit in an altercation that happened between him and a gentleman of rank in the army who had been very roughly handled in one of his letters. “ I am informed, Sir, “ said the officer, that you wrote the letter
“ which

“ which appeared in to-day’s Public Advertis-
 “ fer, under the signature of JUNIUS. I shall
 “ be obliged to you if you would tell me
 “ whether you did or not.” “ Really, Sir,”
 replied our author, “ that is a question I can-
 “ not be so obliging as to answer, as I see no
 “ reason for your asking me the question. If
 “ you believe your informer it is needless, and
 “ if you do not, it is rather rude to found
 “ your suspicion of me on the information of
 “ one you suspect to be a liar.” “ Sir,” re-
 turned the officer warmly, “ Lord T— chal-
 “ langed Mr. W— on a similar occasion, and
 “ I think it is a question a gentleman has a
 “ right to ask, and a reason to expect an an-
 “ swer.”—“ You, sir,” returned JUNIUS cool-
 ly, “ may adopt the conduct of Lord T— if
 “ you please ; but I assure you I shall not
 “ make Mr. WILKES’s the standard of mine.”
 “ I am determined I will somehow have satis-
 “ faction.” “ You are perfectly right, sir, but
 “ you have no right to make me determine the

“ *quo*

“ *in*

“ *the*

“ *which*

“ *quo modo.* ” “ Are not you JUNIUS ? ” angrily
 — “ If I were, sir, and you were to dis-
 patch one JUNIUS to-day, you would have
 another to encounter before the end of the
 week,” turning round on his heel and walk-
 ing away. The military gentleman was ready
 to burst with rage at the affected *sang-froid* of
 our author, but not having the keen-killing
 stomach of a Bobadil, he stifled his resent-
 ment and suffered the matter to drop. A more
 pleasant instance of this multifarious charac-
 ter of JUNIUS was given the public, in his
 hasty and inadvertent reply to a letter ad-
 dressed to him in the news-papers by a sup-
 posed female writer ; to which our author, in
 his *gaieté de Cœur*, returned so light and ludi-
 crous an answer, that it was condemned, it
 seems, in full conclave, by the greater parts of
 the individual units of the junto ; whether be-
 cause they judged its wit to be incompatible
 with politics, or that they thought its levity
 unbecoming the pen of a writer, engaged in
 the discussion of the important affairs of go-
 vernment. JUNIUS therefore was reduced to
 the disagreeable task of disowning his own
 hand-

hand-writing, and imputing the fault to a mistake of the printer, who, it was pretended, was deceived by a striking similitude of the penmanship. But could this similitude be accidental? Or, could a correspondent not in the secret of the junto, copy the hand-writing of Junius so nearly as to deceive the printer? *Credat Judæus Apella.*

F I N I S.

